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been a reason for, a general gathering of all the members of the *ptso*. A traveller among strange people has no claim on the hospitality of unknown members of his *ptso*, though it would still be shameful for two members of the same *ptso* to have sexual connection. More than anything else, the *ptso* is a device for the prevention of incest.

iii

Incest for the Lepchas is horrifying; they do not call it a sin but *nam-toak*, an act which produces a year of disaster for the community. Sin is a lamaist conception and is on the whole only applied to acts like the killing of animals; *nam-toak* is the phrase used for personal acts which are felt to be strongly anti-social. Any sexual connection with blood relations for nine generations on the father's side and four on the mother's is considered incestuous; but children under the age of puberty, or, as the Lepchas say 'who are not old enough to know shame', are not considered capable of committing incest and no watch is kept on children's play. Besides blood relations sexual connection with the following relations-by-marriage is considered as incestuous: for a man to sleep with any of the women he calls 'mother-in-law' or 'daughter-in-law' (that is his wife's mother, his wife's elder sister, the wife of his wife's elder brother, and his sons' wives, the wives of his *younger* brothers, and the wives of his brothers' and sisters' sons); for a woman, to sleep with any of the men she calls 'father-in-law' or 'son-in-law' (that is her husband's father, her husband's *elder* brothers, the husband of her husband's elder sister, and her daughter's husbands, the husbands of her younger sisters, and the husbands of her brothers' and sisters' daughters). Such relationships, besides causing a year of disaster to the community, would call down a devil on to the guilty couple who would cover them with sores. Should children result from such a union they would be allowed to live, but they would either be of an evil mind or idiots, and would be short-lived.

No cases of mother-son or father-daughter incest are known of; nor does the situation occur in any mythological story. Brother-sister incest on the other hand is a motive in a great deal of Mun mythology, inevitably so, for the world and all that therein is are the children of Itpomu the Creative Mother. The origin of devils and noxious animals arises from the incest of her first two 'human' children (if I can so express it) Komsi*thing* and Narzong-*nyou*. I only heard of one case of true brother-sister incest, and that

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835 occurred in another village some generations ago. There are however two contemporary incestuous couples from Zongu whom the Lepchas classify as 'brother' and 'sister'; in both cases they were two generations removed from a common ancestor, or in our classification second cousins. These couples were shunned as irremediably unclean and contagious; they were exiled from their villages and neighbourhood; neither neighbour nor relative would visit them nor help them; when they die nobody would see to the disposal of their body, nor conduct their soul to paradise. One of the couples died after their guilty association had lasted ten years; the other couple, who came from the village of Parfok eleven years ago, are still living at a village three days' walk from Zongu; people from Zongu have seen them on their travels and recently one or two have spoken to them; so far no Lepcha has entered their house nor taken food from them.

It is considered very wicked, though the act will only affect the actual performers, for a man and his son to sleep with the same woman, or a mother and her daughter with the same man; if this is done the line will die out. This situation does however occur occasionally; there is a recent case from Pantong of a man living with mother and daughter; the trio died after three years. Another recent instance occurred at Liklyang on the other side of the river, where a woman was living with her married daughter and son-in-law; a stranger came and married the mother and subsequently slept with the daughter. Although such behaviour is very disgraceful instances of it are recounted with considerable relish, and not with the shocked embarrassment with which stories of true incest are recounted; it is a bad thing to do, but there is something rather attractive and dare-devil about it. The man who told with enormous gusto the story of one man living with mother and daughter seemed shocked and disgusted when recounting the incident of Takal's wife sleeping with Satéo and his father. The emotion which these stories of one man possessing both mother and daughter evoke seems to me to indicate that the rivalry between father and son, or father and son-in-law, so successfully muted by the Lepchas' cultural arrangements, is not entirely suppressed, and finds some gratification in dwelling on these wicked people who have displaced a potential rival.[3]

[3] It should be noted that in both these cases the man first married the mother and then afterwards slept with the step-daughter. Had he acted in the reverse order—marrying the daughter and then sleeping with her mother—the situation would have counted as fully incestuous.

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A child should know who are his *num-neu-ʒong*, that is those people with whom all sexual contact is prohibited, by the time he is nine or ten. By the time he is twelve or thirteen a boy should also know those women whom he is permitted to sleep with—usually a very much smaller number than those who are forbidden. In the case of those relations of a generation above his own—that is to say, the wives of his father's 'elder brothers', he also has to know which of these women his father has slept with beforehand, for in that case the potential partner becomes permanently forbidden. Thus for example, Chimpet can never sleep with nor inherit his 'aunt' Mrs. Datoop (Tafoor calls Datoop 'elder brother' although they are actually three generations away from a common ancestor) because several years ago his father slept with her. Since sexual relationships outside the prohibited degrees are not considered embarrassing or important, no unpleasant or guilt-ridden situation arises through the father having to inform his son about his earlier sexual life. Such subjects are rather a matter for joking, but it would be a disaster if, through ignorance, the son cut short the family line.

iv.

Owing to the wide application of the incest ban it often happens that a boy or girl has not a single potential spouse or unmarried love-partner in the same village; and consequently in the far greater number of cases a boy's wife has to be sought from a distant village, and a girl has to leave her home far behind when she goes to her husband. Of the sixty married women in Lingthem all but thirteen were from outside; and of these thirteen four had married newcomers to the village.[4] The remaining nine were either representatives of small *ptso*, or else their husbands were.

Lepchas make their first marriage extremely young. In Lingthem there was only one girl over fourteen unbetrothed, and that was Prumtu, who had a bad squint, was reputed to be lazy, and had a rough and unpleasing character. Eight boys over sixteen were unbetrothed; they were the two carpenters,[5] three mental defectives who will never be married, and three orphans. These orphans were Satéo, who was very badly lame and without property

[4] For a full list of married women and their place of origin see Appendix I, 2, Table II.

[5] See Chapter Four, p. 121.

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837 as several Lepchas said when the point was raised 'Who can force a grown woman against her will?' More distantly related women, such as 'aunts', may put up a certain amount of semi-playful resistance, but no rancour is felt if it is overborne.

It is considered to be an act of excessively bad taste to copulate with a heritable wife in her husband's presence, or in such situations that there is a possibility of his witnessing it. These legalised adulteries usually take place during the husband's temporary absence, or else outside the house, in the forests or fields or field-houses; these outdoor encounters are usually very brief, and have a slightly romantic flavour. Copulation inside the house has the advantage of giving longer time, but it also exposes the couple to questionable remarks and a good deal of teasing.

836 One of the results of this situation is that almost all boys and young men get their first real sexual experience and training from 864 an older married woman. Elder brothers usually explicitly instruct their younger brothers in their rights. In Lepcha theory a woman should never make direct sexual advances—the common Lepcha words for sexual activity are, like the English ones, transitive and one-directioned—but in point of fact I found that in nearly every case men had had their first real sexual experience with the wife of an 'elder brother' or 'uncle' at the woman's direct invitation and solicitation. This is considered altogether desirable; although sexual activity is thought to be as natural and as necessary as eating, it is necessary that boys should be taught to do it properly. Thus Chudo said one day 'If I caught Chimpet (the son of his elder brother Tafoor) sleeping with my wife I shouldn't be cross at all; on the contrary I should be very pleased, for she would be teaching him how to do it properly and I would know that he was in the hands of a good teacher! On the other hand, if I caught a married man, who had a right to sleep with my wife, doing so I should reproach them for their lack of shame in doing in my presence what might better be done in my absence; if I was really angry I should tell other people about it, so that everybody might know how shameless the man had been.'

614 I have already suggested that the *ptso* was possibly earlier a geographical unit; if this were the case, it seems to me possible 835 that these permissive regulations were evolved to meet the special circumstances. For, with the *ptso* as the geographical unit, the young men would have had no possible sexual partners except through adultery or incest; and, as numerous examples show, such

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situations inevitably lead to jealousy, fighting, and the splitting of the group. By their regulations the Lepchas have reduced intra-group aggression to the minimum. The potential rivalry between father and son is mitigated by taking the arrangements for the child's marriage entirely out of the parents' hands; the potential rivalry between brothers is mitigated by allowing the younger brother access to his more favoured and stronger elder brother's wife, while making the relationship between an elder brother and his younger sister-in-law strongly incestuous. In this connection it is worth while noting that in the very large and elaborate Lepcha folk-lore and mythology I did not come upon a single instance of the otherwise almost universal compensatory story of the conflict between brothers, in which the despised, or ill-used younger brother or sister makes good after the elders have failed.

There is no specific word for 'jealousy' in Lepcha. When I presented hypothetical jealous situations to Lepchas and asked them what their feelings would be, the greater number say they would be angry; but this word, *sak-lyak*, does not carry very strong emotional connotations; it is the word used by parents if their children are naughty, or by workmen if they come across an unexpected difficulty in their work. It is also the most general euphemism for a sexual erection; I cannot untangle the associations which have produced this metaphor, but there is no question that the word is used in both senses; more than once I have heard a workman say when, for example, cords have got tangled 'I am as angry as a standing penis.' Despite the one-directioned sex-words, sexual activity is never openly equated with aggression; it is generally believed that both sexes enjoy it equally, though a few people maintained that women enjoy it more; almost all were agreed that women enjoy it later in life than men do. On the other hand point may be given to the metaphor by the fact that during copulation only the man is active; the woman lies completely passive and relaxed.

The Lepchas of Zongu have dissipated nearly all the highly-charged emotional feelings which in many other societies are centred around sex, and on the whole neither sexual activity nor jealousy are strong motivating factors in their lives. There are a few exceptions to this generalisation; the quarrels fostered by the outsider, Mrs. Jiroong, have already been described in Chapter Three; and married women who show marked preference even for perfectly hereditable spouses, and married men who show preference

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for women other than their wives produce and have produced many disquieting situations, sometimes leading to open disputes and even suicide.[10] Such disturbances can however be put down to uncontrollable personal temperaments, which go strongly against the Lepcha ideal of behaviour; the regulations of the Lepchas have been devised to reduce to a minimum the conflict and aggression within the group. This has not however been followed by added aggression to people outside the group; William Sumner's generalisation[11] does not hold good here, possibly because through the greater part of their history Lepchas have only had slight and intermittent contact with other groups. Practically all the aggression manifested by the Lepchas is directed against and is supposed to originate from hostile supernaturals. Historically Lepchas have nearly always answered outside aggression by retreating and hiding in the forest; and in the semi-historical stories which they recount about the invading Tibetans or Nepali or Bhutanese, the Lepchas get the better of their enemies, not by violence but by cunning—through cutting off the water supply, shooting fire into the fortress, blocking up mountain paths, and similar devices.

It is worth noting that the Lepchas who live in mixed communities, though they generally know of the theoretical right of access to potential spouses, all deny with great apparent sincerity that these rights are ever taken advantage of; many who have imbued the views of their neighbours the Tibetans or Nepali, regard them with horror. The Lepchas of Zongu themselves are culturally tolerant and know that their neighbours have different rules of conduct; for example the Tibetans forbid the marriage of aunt and nephew, but both they and the Nepali permit the marriage of first cousins which for the Lepchas is the most horrifying form of incest. The habits of other races, particularly the Tibetans, are a fairly constant subject of conversation; many of these habits are viewed with disgust, but disgust tempered by considerable amusement.

In the case of two or more marriages taking place within the same generation of two groups, the levirate and sororate claims are readjusted to meet the situation; for example if two brothers marry two sisters, the younger brother will not have the right of access to or be able to inherit his elder brother's wife, because she

[10] Instances of these disruptive situations are given further on in this chapter and in Chapter Fifteen.

[11] 'The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative of each other.' W. Sumner: *Folkways* (Boston 1906), p. 12.

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582 will also be his wife's elder sister and equated with his mother-in-
835 law; similarly the elder brother will not have access to or be able to marry his wife's younger sister, because she is equated with his daughter-in-law. If there was an interval between the first and second marriages both parties would have the right of access until the second *asék*; to avoid such complication it is desirable that the marriages of pairs of brothers and sisters take place as nearly simultaneously as is possible.

The semi-diagrammatic complementary relations which are set up when two brothers marry and have sons are worth tabulating. The elder brother has to respect his younger brother's wife as his 'daughter-in-law', but his son need not as he can sleep with and inherit her; the younger brother need not respect his elder brother's wife as he can sleep with and inherit her, but his son must respect her as his 'big mother'.

587 In the event of a widow being left with young children it is essential that a husband be supplied from her husband's group, and this is usually done without any sort of friction. Thus Chano, himself a childless widower, recently inherited the wife and three young children of his dead elder brother. This is the one situation in which the provision of a levirate spouse is imperative; if the widow is sterile or the children all grown up and married there is no compulsion and such women often return to their own home. Not always however; at the age of 68 the second Dorjé Lapoon married *en secondes noces* his widowed 'aunt' (actually the wife of his grandmother's brother's son) Pumri, who was then aged 73. The two had however carried on a fairly constant concubinage in the last forty years of Pumri's husband's lifetime.

The chief disadvantage of the sororate and levirate claims is that it quite occasionally happens that there is considerable disparity between the ages of the spouses, and in particular that the woman will be considerably older than the man. A relatively poor family is liable to hand on a satisfactory woman even to a boy of nine or ten; the converse seldom occurs as a man will not accept a very young girl as a second wife. During my stay in Lingthem such a case was causing considerable dispute. Kahlyeu's grandson, Chélé, at the age of ten had inherited the wife of a dead younger uncle. This girl had only been married a year before the death of her husband, and was at the time only fifteen, but the psychological difference in their ages was far greater than the real difference. Chélé was a very bright and intelligent little boy, but

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tration of the cultural attitude to sex when he said that he had twice slept with a girl at Parfok, at her request, when he accompanied his father there to help perform religious ceremonies; he enjoyed the experience and would willingly repeat it; but he does not want to marry the girl because he does not like her.

It is permissible for a man who feels himself unable to cope with his field-work, either on account of physical weakness or because he has other work which takes him a great deal from the neighbourhood, to invite an unmarried younger brother to live with him and to share his fields and wife. The co-husband is co-opted without any sort of ceremony, but thereafter he is no longer free in the choice of a wife of his own, if he desires one; he must make the request for a wife of the same *ptso* as the shared wife, exactly as if he was taking a second wife in the normal course of events. The co-husbands sleep with their common wife on alternate nights, but all the children are presumed to be begotten by the first husband, and he alone has to observe the pre-natal precautions; an exception is only made to this rule if the first husband's prolonged absence makes his paternity a physiological impossibility.

In the recent past there have only been two cases of such polyandry in Lingthem; one is that of Chala Mandal, described above, who first shared and then gave his first two wives to a 'younger brother'; the second is that of the second Dorjé Lapoon, who shared his wife with his real elder brother; this brother was a lama attached to another village who was almost always away, so that the second Dorjé Lapoon had almost the exclusive use of his shared wife. It is not allowable for two unrelated men to share a wife, but two who call themselves 'brothers' may do so; unless the two men are closely related this is considered undesirable, as it is liable to lead to quarrelling. There are some obvious advantages for a first husband in co-opting a second husband; it is an easy way to get rid of a wife of whom you are tired; it gives an extra adult worker and a care-taker for your property and wife when you have to be absent. The position of second co-husband on the other hand seems to offer few attractions except to the poor and unambitious, under-sexed man, and it is understandable that there are very few examples of such polyandry. In the event of polyandry or polygyny the incest prohibition against sleeping with your husband's younger brother, or your wife's elder sister, are obviously suspended.

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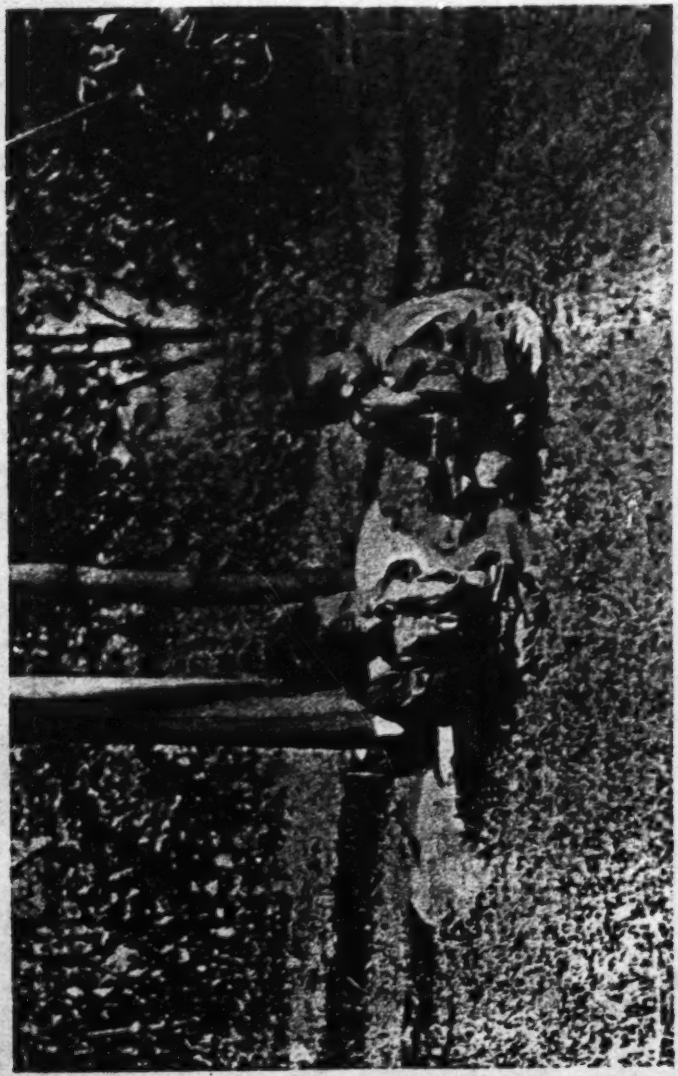

THE POT OF *CHI* FOR THE TODDLERS IS SET INTO THE GROUND WELL AWAY FROM THE GROWN-UPS

[facing p. 272]

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The Lepchas have not elaborated seduction in any way, and the verbal intricacies which are employed on formal occasions are not used for it. In most cases the man usually asks the girl in so many words if he may sleep with her; if she refuses at first there may be a little pleading and persuasion; but, except when they are very young, girls do not appear usually to refuse. Courtship barely exists among the Lepchas and no preliminary stimulations in the way of kisses or embraces are employed, though a man may fondle a woman's breasts immediately before copulation; fondling of the breasts in public is considered slightly shameless but rather funny; it is the equivalent to a direct invitation. Sexual desire is not believed to need any provocation; nakedness is not considered in any way exciting or stimulating; one or two men said they were excited at the sight of a woman's naked thighs; but for the majority immediate anticipation is the only stimulant. Neither sex indulges in any obvious exhibitionism when sober (men, especially older men, sometimes uncover their genitals when drunk) nor in any special coquetry. 832

There is no overt jealousy on the part of fathers or brothers towards the lovers of their sisters or daughters; and it is considered that men have no call to interfere in the sexual life of their female blood-relations unless an unmarried girl produces a bastard. Fathers will generally warn their daughters to be circumspect on this account when they think they have reached an age when this becomes possible; but it was agreed that unless a girl were pregnant a father would have no justification in being angry with her or the man if he discovered his daughter with a lover. 835

Except in the case of recent adultery sexual success is not made a secret of and a successful lover will almost certainly inform his friends. Adultery which is past and finished and pre-nuptial copulation with married people is a subject for open jest and teasing. One day Chudo explained in great detail how and when he had slept with Mrs. Jiroong when they were both unmarried, in the presence of Mrs. Jiroong and a number of other Lepchas. She showed her resentment by throwing a bunch of leaves at him, but forgot even to appear embarrassed. 831

The casual encounter in the field or forest has a somewhat more romantic aura; but it is considered altogether preferable that love-making should take place indoors because of the greater time it allows the pair. In their youth and young manhood (the period Lepchas call *fleng*) Lepcha men would appear to be remarkably 833

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595 837 to them, whereas in a true polyandrous society each of the men concerned is a legal husband, and takes his place as such at the wedding ceremonies.

● 835 It will perhaps make the situation clearer if I explain the sexual rights of a Lepcha in tabular form.

A man may sleep with:

1. The wives of all his elder brothers, and their younger sisters, whether married or not.

2. The wives of his father's younger brothers, and their younger sisters.

Bearing this in mind it can be seen that the youngest of seven brothers, for instance, whose father was himself the eldest of seven more brothers would have the legal right to sleep with no less than twelve women; but this is assuming that none of the women concerned had any younger sisters. This is, of course, a purely theoretical example and in actual practice many of the women would not normally be available since their husbands would probably be living in different villages: but even so, it means that many a man has "a home from home," so to speak, in several of the surrounding villages. In the two cases mentioned above the woman concerned cannot refuse the man's advances. He has a legal right to copulate with her, and may, if necessary, force her to submit against her will. But in addition to all these women 837 with whom a man may legally sleep, there is no moral 835 objection to his doing so with any women with whom he can trace a like classificatory relationship. But in this case the matter is entirely dependent upon the woman's willingness to co-operate: she cannot be forced to submit. In actual practice the result of all this is that in a small village there are very few women with whom a man may not amuse himself. This was certainly the case in Lingtem; but there were one or two unfortunate only sons who had, legally at all events, to confine themselves to their own wives. A great many men, however, do also have affairs with other women, of which little notice is taken, even by the husbands concerned: but

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835 in no case would a man ever have any sexual relations with
837 the wives of his younger brothers, or with a woman of the same clan as himself. This would constitute incest; and while it is practically impossible to investigate the subject, I am inclined to think, by reason of the horror with which it is regarded, that incest does not occur.

587 In addition to the sexual rights which a man has with his
428 elder brothers' wives it is customary for a widow to be inherited by one of the deceased's younger brothers, preferably the next in succession. Should he have no brothers living the widow may pass to a nephew. It makes no difference if the man in question already has a wife of his own: the widow comes to him as an additional wife, but in no case is any marriage ceremony performed, the woman being merely inherited in the same way as any other piece of property. It is not to be supposed, however, that this arrangement is carried out without the consent of both the parties concerned. The woman is at liberty to remarry with whom she wishes; but it should be remembered that the man who would be legally entitled to inherit her (*Oong-op* is the technical term in use) has probably cohabited with her for years, as a result of which the pair are probably on intimate terms, so that the new relationship is merely a public recognition of a long-standing arrangement. Because of this, most widows are perfectly content to remain with one or other of their deceased husband's brothers.

It sometimes happens that a widow is herself perfectly willing to be inherited by a man who does not care for her, or who, for some reason or other, does not want an additional wife. In these circumstances he need not take her into his home, but it is incumbent upon him to find the woman another husband. In a case of this sort the full marriage ceremonies would have to be carried out, and the usual gifts provided, the expense of which would fall, not upon the proposed husband, but upon the man who should by rights have taken the widow into his own home. Should the reverse happen, and the widow be unwilling to go to an

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intolerable, and in the course of countless generations they 578
have so conditioned their feelings that this particular emotion 152
never arises: or if it really is an inherent instinct, then they have sublimated it to such an extent that it causes no psychological disturbance.

Although the question of sexual jealousy hardly arises, it 834
would be absurd to suppose that any man, even a Lepcha, is 833
completely indifferent to his wife's promiscuity. For this reason, in Chodu's words: "It is better to copulate with one's sister-in-law out in the forest, because there is no privacy in the home. Out in the forest it is possible to be more passionate, whereas in the presence of others a certain amount of restraint must be exercised." An elder brother will be angry if he actually sees his younger brother copulating with his wife, and will say some such thing as: "Look here, you should not do that sort of thing with my wife while I'm about, and certainly not in my presence"; but apart from this he will take no action.

It is said that when a man habitually sleeps with his elder 753
brother's wife the latter is liable to suffer from stomach-ache and diarrhœa, especially towards the end of each Tibetan month. When a man has pains of this sort he will naturally suspect his wife, but there is really little that he can do. He may suggest to his wife that she breaks off relations 751
with his brother, or can ask her to obtain a piece of his 753
clothing. If he wears this himself, in the form of a charm, it will be found that the pair will cease to be interested in one another and in course of time will give up sleeping together. It should be clearly noted, however, that the object of this is to cure the elder brother's stomach-ache and not to stop the woman having sexual relations with her husband's brother, to which no objection is taken.

It is an understood thing that most normal men do have 835
relations with their elder brothers' wives from time to time, and while the subject is not generally discussed among brothers no one would make any attempt to deny the fact if asked; not because there is any question of jealousy arising,

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635 but because the matter is of such ordinary occurrence as not to merit discussion. With regard to affairs outside the immediate family circle slightly more circumspection is necessary; but only then in the case of a young unmarried girl. Tobgay, for instance, was well aware that his wife was carrying on an affair with Dadool, in spite of the fact that the latter already had a wife of his own. In this particular case the affair was being prosecuted actually inside the house, and sometimes in Tobgay's presence; but, as he himself said: "It is not good manners to pay attention to what goes on in the room once the lights have been put out." In any case he was himself in the habit of visiting other girls in the village.

578 152a I hope that I have now made it clear that among the Lepchas sexual jealousy does not exist. During our stay in Lingtem there was not the slightest sign of a quarrel over a woman, and the people thought it laughable that such a thing could happen. There is, however, another side to the question and, from our point of view, rather an important 000 one. It is this: is it possible for real love to exist in a society which has completely sublimated sexual jealousy? I do not think it is. A distinction must, however, be drawn between "loving" and "being in love." Most people will agree with Dr. Roberts that "all of us who have passed through the first three or four decades of our life must have found by personal experience, first of all, that 'being in love' is the most exalted of human experiences; secondly, that this period of exaltation is limited in time—lasting, it may be for a few weeks, it may be for a few months, but rarely extending into years. Loving is one thing; 'being in love' is another. The latter is characterised by exclusiveness—exclusive individual devotion, on the one hand, and a desire for exclusive 'possession' on the other; so that it is hardly possible for any but the most complacent to be passionately in love without experiencing many painful pangs of jealousy. It is the essential insecurity of the relation that explains the hunger for the security and permanence which exclusive possession alone seems to promise."

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I should say that "being in love" is a state of mind completely unknown to the Lepchas. There was not in Lingtem, so far as I know, a single instance of a man or woman making a love-match; nor do I think such a thing possible in a society completely devoid of jealousy. It is interesting, however, to note that among Christian Lepchas in Kalimpong and Darjeeling real love-matches are very common and becoming the usual thing among the younger generation: and we have also seen that there is a tendency among such "uncivilised" Lepchas as have worked in Gangtok to make at least some attempt to arrange their own marriages. It should be remembered, however, that in both these cases the free sexual life of the "uncivilised" Lepcha is impossible; in the one case only temporarily, but in the other by reason of a permanently changed code of morals. Can it be that as a result of these changed conditions the "inherent" but previously sublimated jealousy comes to the surface, at the same time bringing with it the ability to enjoy the "most exalted of human experiences"? I do not know; but, to me, it seems not impossible.

In view of the fact that there is no privacy in a Lepcha house, children are early aware of the method of procreation, and it is a common sight at monastery feasts to see small children of four or five imitating the act of copulation, and not infrequently being egged on by their inebriated elders, who seem to think this an amusing sight. Boys generally commence their sexual life at about the age of twelve, and usually start by being seduced by one of their father's younger brother's wives, if any such are living in the same house. We can now realise that the regulation prohibiting a man from having sexual relations with the wives of his father's *elder* brothers has a definite purpose, since the father himself is permitted to sleep with these women. Were the prohibition not enforced it would be possible for both a father and son to have sexual relations with the same woman, a state of affairs that is looked upon with marked disapproval, although it is not considered to be actually incestuous.